

# The Enlightenment, Nationalism, and Revolutions

*Every nation gets the government it deserves.*

—Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821)

Like English statesman *Edmund Burke*, French thinker Joseph de Maistre was a conservative who went against the tide of Enlightenment thinking. In the view of conservative thinkers such as Burke and Maistre, revolutions were bloody, disruptive, and unlikely to yield positive results. However, try as conservatives might to quell revolutionary change, the desire of common people for constitutional government and democratic practices erupted in revolutions throughout the nineteenth century. And many nations did, indeed, get a new form of government that responded to the new wave of thinking with its key ideals: progress, reason, and natural law.

## An Age of New Ideas

Growing out of the Scientific Revolution and the humanism of the Renaissance, the thinking of the Enlightenment was optimistic. Many writers believed that the application of reason to natural laws and rights would result in infinite progress. This idea, while not atheistic, nevertheless emphasized man's accomplishments in discovering the laws of the natural world. It led to the conclusion that natural laws governed the social and political spheres. While traditional religion did not disappear, it became less pervasive. The idea of *Deism*, the belief that a divinity simply set natural laws in motion and then did not interfere or cause miracles in the world, emerged. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting the expression of Enlightenment ideals during this period with their expression from 1450 to 1750. See pages 286–288.)

New ideas emerged about how to improve society. Schools of thought including *socialism* and liberalism arose, giving rise to the period being called “the Age of Isms.” Opposing socialism and liberalism were the currents of *conservatism*, particularly popular among European rulers, and *romanticism*.

The clash between new ideas and old political structures led to revolutions that often had two aims: independence from imperial powers and constitutional representation. The breakup of empires and the emergence of new forms of government often followed, developing out of the concept of *nationalism*, a feeling of intense loyalty to others who share one's language and culture. The

idea that people who share a culture should also share a government threatened to destroy all of the multi-ethnic empires in Europe.

## New Ideas and Their Roots

In the seventeenth century, Francis Bacon had laid the foundations for the empirical method of scientific inquiry. Rather than relying on reasoning about principles provided by tradition or religion, he based his conclusions on his observation of natural data.

**Hobbes and Locke** In the same century, philosophers Thomas Hobbes (author of *Leviathan*, 1651) and *John Locke* (author of *Two Treatises of Government*, 1690) viewed political life as the result of a *social contract*. Hobbes argued that people's natural state was to live in a bleak world in which life was "nasty, brutish, and short." However, by agreeing to a social contract, they gave up some rights to an absolutist monarch in return for law and order.

Locke, on the other hand, argued that the social contract implied the right, even the responsibility, of citizens to revolt against unjust government. Locke argued also that each man had a natural right—a right in the "state of nature"—to life, liberty, and the pursuit of property. Another of Locke's influential ideas is found in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), in which he proposed that children were born with minds like "blank slates" (*tabula rasa*) waiting to be filled with knowledge. In a world in which most people believed that an individual's intelligence, personality, and fate were heavily determined by their ancestry, Locke's emphasis on how environment shapes people was radical. It also implied that society should promote education.

**The Philosophes** In the eighteenth century, a new group of thinkers and writers who came to be called the *philosophes* explored social, political, and economic theories in new ways, popularizing concepts that they felt followed rationally upon those of the scientific thinkers of the seventeenth century. Taking their name from the French word *philosophe* ("philosopher"), these writers included Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin from America, Adam Smith from Scotland, and *Mary Wollstonecraft*, from England, who wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). Also prominent were French thinkers Diderot (editor of a vast encyclopedia) and three major Enlightenment philosophers: *Baron Montesquieu*, *Voltaire*, and *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. These thinkers wrote extensively with one another, with some monarchs, and with the reading public throughout the Western world.

Of particular importance to writers of the new constitutions in France and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the ideas of Baron Montesquieu. His famous work *The Spirit of Laws* (1748) praised the British government's use of checks on power by means of its Parliament. Montesquieu thus influenced the American system, which adopted his ideas by separating its executive branch (the president) from its legislative branch (Congress) and both from its third branch (the federal judiciary).

Francois-Marie Arouet, whose pen name was Voltaire, is perhaps best known for his social satire *Candide* (1762). He was famous during his lifetime

for his wit and for his advocacy of civil liberties. Exiled for three years due to a conflict with a member of the French aristocracy, Voltaire lived in England long enough to develop an appreciation for its constitutional monarchy and regard for civil rights. He brought these ideas back to France, where he campaigned for religious liberty and judicial reform. His correspondence with heads of state (such as Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia) and his voluminous writings, including articles in Diderot's *Encyclopedia*, are still quoted today. His idea of religious liberty influenced the U.S. Constitution.

A contemporary of Voltaire was the writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who expanded on the idea of the social contract as it had passed down through the work of Hobbes and Locke. Rousseau is often considered a pre-Romantic because his work seems to rebel against the social and political privileges of the French aristocracy as well as against scientific rationalism. One of Rousseau's early works was *Emile, or On Education* (1762) in which he laid out his ideas on child-rearing and education. A later work titled *The Social Contract* (1762) presented the concept of the General Will of a population and the obligation of a sovereign to carry out that General Will. An optimist who believed that society could improve, Rousseau gave the revolutionaries of the late eighteenth century hope of establishing better governments.

**Salons and Coffeehouses** Social gatherings of European intellectuals, or *salons*, took place in the homes of the rich and famous. As hostesses, some women made their marks on the eighteenth century by bringing together artists, politicians, philosophers, and popular writers who took the progressive ideas of the Enlightenment to the public. In addition to meeting in salons, writers and other intellectuals met in the coffeehouses of the major cities of Europe.

Such places became centers of the new economic thinking that changed radically in the eighteenth century. The *physiocrats*, as the new economic thinkers were called, often followed the ideas of *Adam Smith*. In his book *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Smith argued for abandoning mercantilism in favor of free trade. His famous phrase *laissez-faire* (French for "leave alone") meant that governments should minimize their intervention in the economy. While Smith did support some regulations and taxes, he believed that everyone would be better off if the economic marketplace regulated itself more than it did under mercantilism. Smith also said that each person should act according to the dictates of his or her morals, with the result that good would filter through to all of society. (Test Prep: Create a chart or Venn diagram comparing and contrasting mercantilism and the free market. See pages 286–288.)

**Deism** The Enlightenment's emphasis on reason inspired new attempts among intellectuals to establish the relationship of humans to God or at least to God's natural world. *Deists* argued that God created the world and then sat back to observe its movements according to natural laws that could be discovered by scientific inquiry. *Thomas Paine*, never one to shrink from conflict, was militant in his defense of Deism in the book *The Age of Reason* (1794). Paine's previous work, *Common Sense* (1776), made him popular in America for advocating liberty from Britain, but his anti-church writings damaged much

of his popularity. Deists compared the divinity to a watchmaker who makes a watch but does not interfere in its day-to-day workings: he creates a world and sits back to watch it move by its own natural laws. The Deists' relationship to God is consequently more impersonal and theoretical than those of Christians who focused on miracles and faith. Nevertheless, many of the Deists viewed regular church attendance as an important social obligation and moral guide.

European Intellectual Life, 1250–1789		
Period	Representative Thinkers	Characteristics
<b>Medieval Scholasticism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used reason to defend faith</li> <li>• Argued through writing and debating</li> <li>• Relied heavily on Aristotle</li> <li>• Used little experimentation</li> </ul>
<b>Renaissance Humanism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Erasmus (1466–1536) in Northern Europe</li> <li>• Mirandola (1463–1494) in Southern Europe</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wrote practical books, such as Machiavelli's <i>The Prince</i></li> <li>• Emphasized human accomplishments</li> <li>• Focused on secularism and the individual</li> </ul>
<b>Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Francis Bacon (1561–1626)</li> <li>• Isaac Newton (1642–1727)</li> <li>• Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679)</li> <li>• John Locke (1632–1704)</li> <li>• French <i>philosophes</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emphasized collecting empirical data</li> <li>• Believed in natural rights, progress, and reason</li> <li>• Wanted new constitutions to improve governments</li> <li>• Supported religious toleration</li> <li>• Wrote for the reading public</li> </ul>

## Enlightened Despots

European monarchs of the Enlightenment period were often contradictory figures—they were enlightened in ideas of serving in the interest of their subjects and yet despotic in carrying out their ideas. They read about and believed in progress and reason, but also wanted the law to remain theirs to control. Enlightened despots would expand empires, build canals, invest in industry and education, and sometimes promote commoners on the basis of merit. They were unusually tolerant toward religions other than their own. On the other hand, they often suppressed dissent, using secret police forces to spy on their critics. They also insisted on ruling without the advice and consent of legislative bodies. While their goals were frequently progressive and reasonable, their methods could be tyrannical. Examples were Frederick the Great of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), Maria Theresa of Austria (ruled

1740–1780), *Napoleon Bonaparte* of France (ruled 1799–1814), and Catherine the Great of Russia (ruled 1762–1796).

Only a few European monarchs could be called enlightened. Meanwhile, some Asian rulers in areas such as the “Gunpowder Empires” became less progressive and more despotic as their empires began to decline in territory and prestige. In the Ottoman Empire, for example, sultans who might have instituted Enlightenment reforms were violently opposed by conservative groups such as the Janissaries and the ulama (religious experts). The opposition forced Sultan Selim III (ruled 1789–1807) to suspend reforms to make his army more efficient, to centralize government, and to standardize taxes. He was executed before government forces could rescue him from a massive uprising of the Janissaries. (For more about the “Gunpowder Empires,” see pages 353–363)

## Revolutions and Reactions

Despite the few enlightened despots, conservative forces grounded in centuries of tradition and dynastic ambition resisted the new ideas of representative government. However, conservatives faced growing pressure to change. As urbanization increased and a new middle class rose out of the Industrial Revolution, people increasingly protested against governments that failed to recognize individual and natural rights. All over Europe and in its colonies, revolution—and reaction—were in the air in the late eighteenth century.

**Periodization and Revolutions** On the surface, modern revolutions appear to follow a similar pattern. In *The Anatomy of Revolution* (1938), Crane Brinton described the similarities of four political revolutions: the English Revolution of the 1640s, the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789, and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Brinton thought that all four revolutions went through four stages.

1. Citizens become dissatisfied with government.
2. Moderates gain more power.
3. Radicals take over in a “terror” phase.
4. The process culminates in a period of relative calm and acceptance, or what he calls the “Thermidorean Reaction.”

Within this pattern, each revolution had unique revolutionary circumstances and outcomes. For example, Brinton acknowledged that the American Revolution, unlike the other three, lacked a “terror” phase. He concluded his study by noting that some top-down reforms imposed by government or elite leaders brought more lasting social change than the political revolutions he described. (For more about a top-down revolution, read about the regime of Mustafa Kemal in Turkey. See page 521.)

## The American Revolution

The ideals that inspired the American Revolution had their roots in European Enlightenment philosophy. Despite being a conservative thinker, even

the British writer Edmund Burke was willing to support the American Revolution. “No taxation without representation” was a distinctly English notion, demanded repeatedly and with increasing insistence from the time of the Magna Carta. Burke, though, would not be so generous toward the French Revolution, which followed the American one by about a decade.

The economic ideas of the physiocrats also played a part in the American Revolution, providing a defense of free market ideas in opposition to English mercantilism. Additionally, the American colonists had become more independent politically: colonial legislatures were making decisions usually made by Parliament. Moreover, great distances separated the colonists from Parliament and the king in London. With economic and political desires for independence grew a new social spirit. In America, chances for success were shaped less by the status of one’s parents and more by one’s own merit.

**Declaration of Independence** On July 4, 1776, the *Declaration of Independence* expressed the philosophy behind the Patriots’ fight against British troops in America. In writing the document, Thomas Jefferson picked up the phrase “unalienable rights” from John Locke. For Jefferson, these rights were to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In the war that followed, the colonists received crucial help from Britain’s long-time enemy, France, and eventually triumphed. With the British–U.S. Treaty of Paris of 1783, the 13 colonies won their independence from Britain.

**New Constitution** During the Revolutionary War, Americans created their own government under the Articles of Confederation. In it, they reacted against the excesses of the British government by setting up a weak central government. That government had no executive branch and no power to impose taxes, and it kept most authority with the individual states.

In a few years, many leaders began calling for a stronger central government. The result was the *United States Constitution*, which was ratified by the states in 1788. The U.S. Constitution, the oldest written constitution still in use in the world today, created a republic with a bicameral legislature (House of Representatives and Senate), an executive who was elected by the people through an Electoral College, and a judicial branch. These three branches of government illustrate the *separation of powers* so praised by the French writer Montesquieu: executive, judicial, and legislative. These branches provide important *checks and balances* on one another. Ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, were soon added to protect basic civil liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion, as well as the rights of people accused of crimes.

## The French Revolution

In France in the 1780s, revolutionary ideals took on their own spin, summarized in the slogan *liberté, égalité, et fraternité* (liberty, equality, and fraternity). These ideas, which struck many people as radical, were popularized throughout Europe in the writings of the *philosophes*.

**Economic Woes** However, there were additional causes that led to the French Revolution. France had long spent more money than it was taking in, partly to finance a series of wars against Great Britain and other countries. Among this spending was the economic aid that France supplied the Americans in their revolution. In order to address its dire financial situation, the French government called a meeting of the Estates-General in the spring of 1789.

The chart below shows the social and legal breakdown of the French population in 1789. The *First Estate* (the clergy) and the *Second Estate* (the nobility) paid almost no direct tax, and they resisted calls that they pay any more. The burden of taxation fell on the *Third Estate*, the common people, composed of peasants, urban workers, and the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class.

France's Estates in the Eighteenth Century			
Estate	Population	Land Ownership	Taxation
<b>First: Clergy</b>	Less than 1%	About 10%	Less than 1%
<b>Second: Nobility</b>	Less than 2%	About 25%	Less than 1%
<b>Third: Commoners</b>	More than 97%	About 65%	More than 98%

Since *King Louis XVI* (ruled 1774–1792) could not raise more money to finance the large and inefficient government, he called for the Estates-General to meet in 1789. Not having met since the days of Louis XIII in the early seventeenth century, the calling of the Estates-General caused excitement in France. Finance ministers had come and gone in the French government, fired when their plans for equalizing the tax burden had faltered. Now Louis XVI would be forced into some action.

**The Revolution Begins** When the Estates-General met, the First and Second Estate outvoted the Third Estate by a margin of two to one. Thus, the Third Estate withdrew to an indoor tennis court where they declared their intention to remain apart until a National Assembly could be formed that would grant one vote per member rather than one vote per estate. Representatives from the Third Estate supported this revolutionary idea with the *Tennis Court Oath*, which also called for a constitution limiting the king's power.

The early days of the French Revolution were exciting, as moderates like Marquis de Lafayette seemed to be on the point of establishing a constitutional monarchy. The National Assembly began meeting in Paris, but then the King threatened to arrest the leaders. Angry crowds rioted in Paris and elsewhere in France. On July 14, 1789, a crowd in Paris stormed the *Bastille*, a former prison that still symbolized the abuses of the monarchy and the corrupt aristocracy. In the French countryside, peasants rose up against nobles, even burning some manor houses. Some royal officials fled France. The king was forced to accept a new government with a National Assembly in charge.

The date July 14, 1789, became French Independence Day. The most permanent changes were enacted early in the Revolution—the abolition

of feudalism and the adoption of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, a statement declaring basic human rights. However, one major problem for the new government was its creation of the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, which abolished special privileges of the Catholic Church in France and put it under state control. Condemned by the Pope and most of the French clergy, the document made the Church into a stronger opponent of the revolution. Louis XVI and the nobility refused to accept the limited monarchy, which led to dissatisfaction among radical groups such as the Jacobins and inspired the establishment of the First French Republic in 1792. It was from the Jacobins that sprang the Reign of Terror, a period during which the government executed thousands of opponents of the revolution.

**Reign of Terror** Among the first to die in the Reign of Terror was Louis XVI, who was executed by guillotine (beheading) in 1793. Louis' death raised grave fears among European leaders. Prussia and Austria were already at war with France. Britain, Spain, and Holland would join them. Besieged by enemies abroad and at home, the ironically named Committee of Public Safety, led by *Maximilien Robespierre*, sought to quell opposition by imposing the death penalty on opponents. They also started the *levée en masse*, or mass male conscription into military service. The idea grew from the revolutionary ideal of the democratic citizen, who, while assured of certain rights, was also given certain responsibilities, such as fighting for the security of the nation.

Also sent to the guillotine in 1793 was *Olympe de Gouges*, a French playwright. Her *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen* (1791) alienated the male dominated leadership of the French Revolution. In pamphlets that she had written, she had asserted that French women should be given the same political rights as French men, and her work *Social Contract* called for marriages to be based on gender equality.

**Conservative Reaction** In 1794, moderates regained control of the French government and provided a return to a sense of security. They had Robespierre beheaded, thus ending the Reign of Terror. Yet another constituent assembly formulated a constitution. This period of relative calm became known as the *Thermidorean Reaction*, so named after *Thermidor*, the "month of heat" in the French revolutionary calendar when much of this reaction occurred.

As revolutionary vigor decreased in 1795, an oligarchic form of government called the Directory came to power. Under it, important reforms took place that preserved people's natural rights. The French had abolished slavery in the French colonies a year earlier, and now they reformed education and prohibited *primogeniture* (the right of an eldest son to inherit all his parents' property).

Nationalism increased in France and in other areas of Europe and in the Americas. More than in the past, people felt a common bond with others who spoke their language, shared their history, and followed their customs. Nationalism would contribute to the French people's willingness to support the 1799 coup led by the young general Napoleon, himself one of the directors of the new government. By 1804, France had returned to one-man rule governed



by Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (ruled 1804–1814). Meanwhile, nationalism was thriving in France and beyond its borders in areas conquered by Napoleon, particularly those in the Germanic areas of the declining Holy Roman Empire.

**Napoleon’s Reforms** Coming to power later than the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century, Napoleon nevertheless shared many of their characteristics. He instituted a series of popular changes.

1. He made the tax burden more equal than it had been under the monarchy.
2. He had a new law code, the *Code Napoleon*, prepared. In it, all citizens were equal, and it provided for trial by jury and freedom of religion. It became the model for other law codes he imposed on lands he conquered.
3. Napoleon set up a public school system.
4. He sponsored archaeological expeditions in Egypt and elsewhere.
5. He established the French Legion of Honor (an honor society for those who served France well) and promoted government and military officials according to merit rather than family connections.
6. He even made peace with the Pope (Concordat of 1801), who had been distanced from France by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

**Napoleon the Dictator** Despite his achievements, Napoleon was despotic in his use of internal spies and control of government. More than any ruler, he showed the contradictions in the term “enlightened despot.”

**Napoleon’s Foreign Policy** In foreign affairs, Napoleon defeated the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. His armies occupied northern Italy, knitting together a puppet kingdom out of several Italian states. Napoleon’s conquests helped bring an end to the Austrian-dominated Holy Roman Empire and united several German states into a Confederation of the Rhine. He set up his relatives as “rulers” over France’s satellite nations, such as Spain, Naples, and Westphalia. Part of his downfall came from instituting the Continental System, an international embargo of British trade. It failed because other nations refused to comply, and Britain retaliated with its own embargo.

**Failure in the Peninsular Campaign** Two poor military decisions led to Napoleon’s downfall. France invaded Portugal in 1807, and soon Spain as well. Britain sent troops to help those countries fight France. This Peninsular Campaign tied up many French troops and other resources.

**Disaster in Russia** Five years into the Peninsular Campaign, Napoleon invaded Russia, using troops from all over Europe. At first, the campaign seemed successful. His forces were victorious at the Battle of Borodino, outside Moscow, and occupied the Russian capital. But *Tsar Alexander I* refused to sign a peace treaty. The Russian Army simply retreated farther east. Napoleon realized his army would never chase down the Russian army and destroy it. The French began to retreat. However, the harsh Russian winter set in. By the end of 1812, the French forces were suffering from hunger, cold, and disease. Napoleon had sent 600,000 soldiers to Russia. Only 100,000 returned. About

half of the deaths were caused by typhus. The rest came from a combination of other diseases, battle wounds, the cold weather, hunger, and thirst.

Napoleon's military failure in the Peninsular Campaign and in Russia showed that he could be defeated. In 1814, France faced attack by the allied forces of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain. After these forces took Paris, Napoleon abdicated. At the *Congress of Vienna* in 1815, the European powers, led by *Klemens von Metternich*, the conservative prime minister of Austria, exiled Napoleon to the island of Elba. Then, they set about restoring former boundaries and former dynasties. The Congress of Vienna marked the resurgence of conservative forces that opposed nationalist movements and revolutions. For much of the nineteenth century, these forces would try to keep peace by maintaining a *balance of power* among European nations and by opposing popular upheavals. Their biggest test came in 1848, when violent protests demanding wider participation in government broke out in Austria, France, Germany, Prussia, and Italy. All were defeated.

## The Haitian Revolution

At the end of the eighteenth century, revolutionary forces were also at work in the rich French sugar and coffee colony of *Haiti* on the western end of the island of St. Domingue. Escaped slaves, called *Maroons*, revolted against their white masters, killing them and burning their houses. The examples of the recent American and French revolutions led former slave *Toussaint L'Ouverture* to join the revolts in 1791 and then to lead a general rebellion against slavery. Besides being well-read in Enlightenment thought, L'Ouverture proved to be a capable general. His army of enslaved Africans and Maroons established an independent government and played various forces of French, Spanish, and British against each other.

In 1801, after taking control of the territory that would become the independent country of Haiti, L'Ouverture produced a constitution that granted equality and citizenship to all residents. He also declared himself governor for life and declared complete independence of Haiti from France. Haiti next enacted land reform: plantations were divided up, with the lands being distributed among former slaves and free blacks.

L'Ouverture worked with the French but then he was betrayed by them. France promised to grant Haitian independence if L'Ouverture would abdicate, but then Napoleon had L'Ouverture captured and arrested. L'Ouverture was executed in France in 1803. Nevertheless, he had succeeded in establishing the abolition of slavery in Haiti and set Haiti on the road to complete independence from France.

In 1804, L'Ouverture's successor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, took advantage of a distracted Napoleon and of an outbreak of yellow fever to declare Haitian independence permanently. Thus, Haiti became the first country in Latin America to win its independence and the first post-colonial, independent, black-led country in the world. It was also the only country to become permanently independent as a result of a slave uprising.

## Comparing the Haitian and French Revolutions

Both the Haitian and French revolutions grew out of the Enlightenment's insistence that men had natural rights as citizens, and that legal restraints were limiting the freedom of people by forcing them into various estates (social classes). However, in the case of the Haitians, the restraints were more severe in that the rebellion was led by slaves who had no rights at all.

Long after its revolution, poverty would plague Haiti, while in France, protection of property and reform of taxation enacted during the French Revolution would help France's economic recovery. But the outcome in both cases was increased freedom. In France, the legal establishment of estates was abolished along with the last vestiges of feudalism. In Haiti, slavery was abolished and the rights of citizens were upheld. While class differences did not evaporate, legal discrimination was ended in Haiti even before its independence by the Constitution of 1801.

However, the Haitians had an additional wish—independence from France. While France wrestled with internal reform and the need for return to stability and order after the Reign of Terror, Haiti wrestled with the desire of foreign powers to exert control over them. Haiti succeeded in establishing the first independent republic in the Caribbean, although its economic success has been limited. France in the nineteenth century shifted between being a constitutional monarchy, a republic, and an empire, and back to being a republic. In both France and Haiti, aims of the Enlightenment were implemented. However, many necessary advances were yet to be made.

## Creole Revolutions in Latin America

On the Latin American mainland, revolutionary ideals were taken up by *creoles*. Born of European parents in the Americas, the creoles were well educated and aware of the ideas behind the revolutions in North America and France. They considered themselves superior to the *mestizos*, who were born of European and Indian parents. Colonists who were born in Spain or Portugal, known as *Peninsulares*, felt superior to everyone. At the bottom of the social ladder were the African slaves, the indigenous population, and those of mixed African–indigenous heritage. (Some of these social distinctions remain today.)

There were many reasons for discontent in the colonies. Many creoles wanted independence from Spain because of Spain's mercantilist policies. These policies required that the colonists buy manufactured goods only from Spain and sell their products only to Spain. The creoles tended to be the wealthy landowners, mine owners, and businesspeople. As such, they were the ones most vocal against mercantilist policies.

Meanwhile, Spain tended to give important government jobs in the colonies to *Peninsulares*. Creoles resented this situation and wanted more political power. *Mestizos* also wanted political power, as well as a share of the wealth of the colonies. Many had jobs in the towns or worked in the mines or on the estates of the *Peninsulares* and creoles.

**Mexico Becomes Independent** A Mexican village priest, Father *Miguel Hidalgo*, called on Indians and mestizos for support in his 1810 drive for Mexican independence from Spain. Hidalgo and his followers won several battles, but the previously sympathetic creoles turned on him when the revolutionaries began attacking and looting their property. As the owners of large ranches and mines, the creoles eventually supported the Spanish authorities, who came to represent law and order. The Spanish captured and then executed Hidalgo.

In 1821, a creole colonel named Agustín de Iturbide attracted the support of the Mexican army and the Roman Catholic Church to win freedom for Mexico City. Spain was so preoccupied with domestic problems that even Mexican conservatives were ready for independence from the home country. The leadership vacuum allowed Iturbide to declare Mexico an independent empire with himself as emperor. Opposition forces led by the conservative general Antonio López de Santa Anna soon overthrew Iturbide, and in 1824 Mexico became a republic. In the coming decades, Mexico would have many heads of government who had been successful military leaders.

The 1824 Mexican constitution guaranteed basic civil rights but did not address serious issues of inequitable land distribution, widespread poverty, the status of Mexican Indians, and inequitable educational access. The political environment featured *liberals* calling for reforms and *conservatives* opposing them. Liberals were influenced by the French and U.S. political models; they stressed the importance of individual rights and opposed the centralized state model of government. They wanted to limit the role of the Roman Catholic Church in politics and in education. Conservatives, by contrast, favored a centralized state in alliance with the Church.

**Conflict with the United States** In the 1830s and 1840s, the Mexican government was led by the *caudillo* (military dictator), General Santa Anna. Not everyone in Mexico accepted his rule. For example, Americans who had settled on Mexican lands disliked the Mexican law prohibiting slavery. Santa Anna, in between terms as president of Mexico, led Mexican forces in a brief war with Texas. After a defeat at the Battle of the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas, the Texans rallied under the leadership of American Sam Houston to defeat Santa Anna's forces. Mexico granted Texas independence in 1836, and it became the Republic of Texas and applied for admission to the United States.

A dispute over the border between Mexico and the United States resulted in the Mexican–American War (1846–1848). Mexico lost and was forced to cede vast territories from Texas to California to the United States in return for \$15 million. Mexico also accepted an earlier U.S. annexation of Texas, with the Rio Grande as its southern border.

**Benito Juárez** A few years later, democratic reform would come to Mexico. *Benito Juárez*, an Indian lawyer from a background of poverty, became Mexico's president and eventually served five terms, breaking the patterns of military leadership and creole rule. He had led a liberal revolt called *La Reforma*, which resulted in a new constitution for Mexico in 1854. He also limited the power of both the Catholic Church and the Mexican army.

But European powers had not finished trying to control Mexico. In 1862, Napoleon III of France invaded, backing a conservative civil war against Juárez's institution of social reforms. His excuse was that Mexico had failed to pay debts owed to French citizens living in Mexico during the Mexican War with the United States. The French forced Juárez to flee Mexico City, they suspended the constitution, and they installed the Austrian *Archduke Maximilian* as emperor of Mexico. Juárez, however, organized resistance and drove the French army out in 1867, aided by some diplomatic pressure on France from the United States, which also wanted the French out of Mexico. Maximilian was captured and shot. Although constitutionally prohibited from serving more terms, Juárez continued to be reelected president until his death in 1872. Mexico had entered a period of political stability with a strong central government.

**The Bolívar Revolutions** Farther south, in South America, a desire for independence from Spain was also growing among the creole class. Fearing the masses, the creoles refused the support of mestizos, Indians, and mulattos (people of mixed African and European heritage). The creoles had seen the result in Haiti of a slave uprising as well as the excesses of the French Revolution during the Reign of Terror. Some creoles, such as *Simón Bolívar*, continued to push for Enlightenment ideals in Latin America. Never accepting a crown, he was instrumental in the independence of areas that became Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru.

Bolívar was born in Venezuela in 1783 to a family whose ancestors had been village aristocrats in Spain. The family had grown very wealthy in Venezuela, and Bolívar had access to this wealth for his revolutionary causes. After considerable military success in Latin America fighting the Spanish, his forces achieved the formation of a large area that he called Gran Colombia. He hoped it would become a federation similar to the United States, one based on Enlightenment ideals. He described himself as a liberal who believed in a free market and the abolition of slavery. Bolívar's goals and concerns for Latin America are outlined in his "Jamaica Letter" (1815): "Generous souls always interest themselves in the fate of a people who strive to recover the rights to which the Creator and Nature have entitled them, and one must be wedded to error and passion not to harbor this noble sentiment."

Bolívar served from 1819 to 1830 as president of Gran Columbia, a vast area of northern South America made up of present-day Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, northern Peru, western Guyana, and northwest Brazil. Due to its size and pressure from separatists, Gran Colombia split into the three successor countries Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador in 1830.

*José de San Martín* was another creole in South America who defeated royalists to establish an independent government. He led troops from his native Argentina over the Andes Mountains to set up independent republics in Chile and Bolivia. San Martín played the role of liberator in the southern part of South America much as Bolívar did in the northern part. He was hailed as the liberator

of Argentina and the “Protector of Peru.” Argentina achieved its independence in 1816 and Peru, in 1821, although consolidation of Peru’s territories was not achieved until three years later. By 1825, most of Spanish America was independent; all the new republics had been born of the Enlightenment and nineteenth-century liberalism. Cuba and Puerto Rico, though, stayed under Spanish rule until 1898.

The new nations of Latin America suffered from the long wars of independence. Armies loyal to their generals led to the rise of the caudillos, who controlled only local areas. These men intervened in national politics to make or break governments. Sometimes the caudillos defended the interests of the regional elites and sometimes of the indigenous population and the peasants, but in general they disregarded representative forms of government and the rule of law.

**Brazil** As a Portuguese colony, Brazil’s course was different from many other parts of Latin America. With creoles fearful of revolution, Brazilians were ruled by a prince who had fled Portugal in 1807 when Napoleon invaded. In 1821, the prince left Brazil and moved back to Portugal to become its constitutional monarch, King John VI. His son, Dom Pedro I, stayed in Brazil as regent. When the Portuguese government threatened Brazil’s political autonomy, many Brazilians threatened revolution. In a surprising twist, Dom Pedro sided with the Brazilians and declared Brazil’s independence from Portugal in 1822, one of the most nonviolent battles for independence in all of Latin America. He declared himself Emperor Pedro I and established a constitutional monarchy. Brazil remained a monarchy with the same social system in place until 1889 when it, too, became a republic after a conservative coup by the military and upper classes.

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**Results of the Creole Revolutions** Although the constitutions of the newly independent countries in Latin America legally ended some social distinctions and abolished slavery, governments were often conservative. The first constitution of Peru, for example, forbade voting by those who could not read or write in Spanish, which effectively denied most Indians the vote until the constitution was changed in 1860. The creoles continued to form a powerful and conservative upper class, as they had before the wars of independence from the European nations.

Women gained little from the revolutions in Latin America. They were still unable to vote or enter into contracts. Most women received little education until late in the nineteenth century, and most remained submissive to men. One notable exception was Manuela Sáenz (1797–1856), who was the lover of Simón Bolívar. She actively participated in fighting alongside Bolívar, for example, in 1822 in a battle near Quito, Ecuador. An excellent rider as well as courageous fighter, she rose to the rank of colonel. On one occasion, she saved Bolívar’s life, for which she received the nickname “Liberator of the Liberator.”

## INDEPENDENCE IN THE AMERICAS



### The Age of Isms Continues

In Europe and America, Enlightenment thinkers reacted to the social ills caused by increasing urbanization and industrialization. Poverty in the cities increased; poor workers lived in slums without proper sanitation and without political representation. Various writers proposed solutions to the observable problems. Some wanted more government regulations and programs; many Christians called for greater private charity, and some conservatives blamed the poor themselves and called on them to change.

**Utopian Socialism** The economic and political theory of *socialism* refers to a system of public ownership or direct worker ownership of the means of production such as the mills to make cloth or the machinery and land needed to mine coal. Various branches of socialism developed in the nineteenth century, providing alternative visions of the social and economic future.

Those who felt that society could be channeled in positive directions by setting up ideal communities were often called *utopian socialists*. While they did not believe that governments could set up these ideal communities, they believed strongly in their own ability to do so. Each had a different vision. Although their experiments failed, each left a mark on history.

- *Claude Henri de Saint-Simon* advocated strongly for public works that would provide employment. He conceived the idea of building the Suez Canal in Egypt, a project that the French government eventually undertook and which opened in 1869.
- *Charles Fourier* identified some 810 passions that, when encouraged, would make work more enjoyable and workers less tired. One of his ideas, for example, was changing tasks frequently to prevent boredom. Fourier argued for an extension of women's liberties as well. Like other utopian socialists, Fourier believed that a fundamental principle of utopia was harmonious living in communities rather than the class struggle that was basic to the thinking of Karl Marx.
- *Robert Owen* established utopian communities at *New Lanark* in Scotland and *New Harmony* in the United States, where he insisted on providing some education for child workers.
- *Louis Blanc* worked to get France to set up national workshops.

In the later nineteenth century, socialist groups such as the *Fabian Society* formed in England. The Fabians were gradual socialists in that they favored reforming industrial society by parliamentary means. Writers H.G. Wells, Virginia Woolf, and George Bernard Shaw were just a few of the socially prominent Fabians. By the mid-twentieth century, many governments of the world, including Great Britain, France, and the Scandinavian countries, would be influenced by socialist principles. (Test Prep: Create a chart listing the ideas of Utopian societies and the thinking of Karl Marx. See page 432.)

**Classical Liberalism** Of more influence than Fabians in the period of revolution and reaction was *classical liberalism*. Being mostly professional people or intelligentsia, classical liberals believed firmly in natural rights, constitutional government, laissez-faire economics, and less spending on standing armies and established churches. Classical liberals in Britain pursued changes in Parliament to reflect changing population patterns so that new industrial cities would have equal parliamentary representation. The Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884, all of which broadened male suffrage, were backed by the classical liberals of the day. (Full female suffrage was not granted until 1928, although women over 30 who met minimal property qualifications were given the vote in 1918.)



On the European continent, classical liberals pursued constitutional governments in countries that had long had absolutist governments. In 1850, for example, liberals in Prussia achieved a constitution that allowed the election of deputies to a parliament. Prime Minister *Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour* (usually referred to as Cavour) of Piedmont-Sardinia, who helped to unify Italy as a constitutional monarchy, was also a classical liberal.

**Romanticism** The artistic movement known as *romanticism* spread widely in Europe and the Americas in the 1800s. It differed from rational classical liberal thinking in that romantics were fascinated with nature, the exotic, and emotion. They turned to instinct and sensitivity for inspiration rather than to reason. In music, composers such as Ludwig van Beethoven wrote passionate, expressive music. Writers often focused on the dark, the mysterious, or the exotic. For example, the words *gothic*, *bizarre*, *dark*, and *medieval* were often used in or to describe romantic poetry. In 1797, the British poet *Samuel Coleridge* wrote the poem “Kubla Khan,” which he claimed was the product of an opium-induced dream. In Latin America, some poets and novelists began to see the native people as symbols of their national history. In 1876 *José Hernández* published *Martin Fierro* in 1876, an epic poem that romanticized the Argentine *gaucho* (a rough equivalent of the North American cowboy). Apolitical in nature, romantics focused on the history and distinctive traits of each culture. This fed opposition to Napoleon for his conquests, and fed sentimental nationalism throughout the continent.

## Nationalism and Unification

Nationalism not only threatened large empires, but it also drove efforts to unite people who shared a culture into one political state. The unifying force of nationalism shaped new countries in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa.

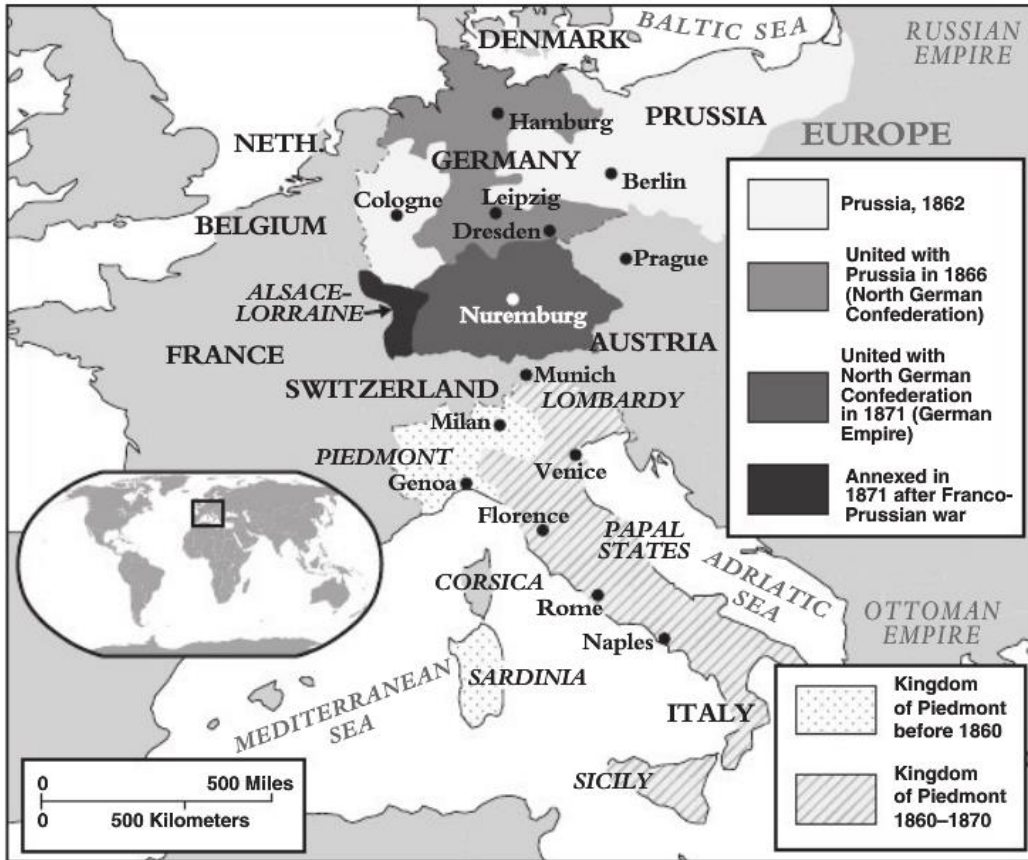
**Italian Unification** Cavour, the prime minister of Piedmont-Sardinia, led the drive to unite the entire *Italian Peninsula* under the only native dynasty, the House of Savoy. At the time, the region was divided among a patchwork of kingdoms and city-states, and most people spoke regional languages rather than Italian. Cavour himself spoke French better than he spoke Italian. Like other classical liberals, he believed in natural rights, progress, and constitutional monarchy. But he also believed in the practical politics of reality, which came to be called *realpolitik*. Thus, he did not hesitate to advance the cause of Italian unity through manipulation. In 1858, he maneuvered Napoleon III of France into a war with Austria, hoping to weaken Austrian influence on the Italian Peninsula. Napoleon III backed out of the war after winning two important battles, partly because he feared the wrath of the Pope, who was not eager for his Papal States to come under the control of a central Italian government.

Nevertheless, it was too late to stop the revolutionary fervor, and soon several areas voted by plebiscite, or popular referendum, to join Piedmont (the Kingdom of Sardinia). To aid the unification effort, Cavour adopted the radical romantic revolutionary philosophy of *Giuseppe Mazzini*, who had been agitating for Italian resurgence (*Risorgimento*) since early in the nineteenth

century. Cavour also allied with the Red Shirts military force led by *Giuseppe Garibaldi*, which was fighting farther south in the Kingdom of Naples.

Not all Italian troubles were solved by the unification that came in 1870, however. Poverty in Italy, more in the south than in the north, led to considerable emigration in the late nineteenth century—particularly to the United States and to Argentina, where the constitution of 1853 specifically encouraged *immigration*, the movement of people into the country from other countries.

### WARS OF UNIFICATION IN EUROPE



**German Unification** In Germany, nationalist movements had already strengthened as a result of opposition to French occupation of German states under Napoleon Bonaparte. Following the Congress of Vienna, which settled the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, revolutions occurred in a number of European states, including Prussia and Austria. The revolutions of 1848 were the result of both nationalism (especially a desire for independence) and liberalism (a desire for representation under constitutions that recognized natural rights and civil liberties).

Prussian leader *Otto von Bismarck*, a practical politician like Cavour, used nationalist feelings to engineer three wars to bring about German unification. Bismarck manipulated Austria into participating in two of these wars, the first with Prussia against Denmark (1864) and the second against Prussia (Seven Weeks' War of 1866). After winning both wars, Bismarck manipulated France into declaring war against Prussia. His armies beat the French soundly in the Franco-Prussian War (1870). In each of these three wars, Prussia gained territory. In 1871, Bismarck founded the new German Empire, made up of

many territories gained from the wars, including Alsace-Lorraine, a rich area long held by France on the border between France and the new Germany.

Kaiser Wilhelm I (ruled 1871–1888) of the Hohenzollern family was the nominal head of the new German Empire. However, Bismarck, as chancellor, wielded great influence over the government. A fierce opponent of labor unions, Bismarck created the first social insurance laws, such as old-age pensions and workers' compensation for injuries and illnesses, to undercut the appeal of unions. Bismarck was forced to resign in 1890, shortly after Kaiser Wilhelm II (ruled 1888–1918) inherited the throne.

By 1871, two new powers, Italy and Germany, were on the international stage in an environment of competing alliances. Balance of power would be achieved briefly through these alliances, but extreme nationalism would lead to World War I.

**Zionism** Yet another “ism” in the late nineteenth century was the emergence of *Zionism*—the desire of Jews to reestablish an independent homeland where their ancestors had lived in the Middle East. After centuries of battling anti-Semitism and pogroms, many European Jews had concluded that living in peace and security was not a realistic hope. To be safe, Jews needed to control their own land. Leading the movement was an Austro-Hungarian Jew, *Theodor Herzl*.

Support for Zionism increased after a scandal in France known as the *Dreyfus Affair* broke out in 1894. Alfred Dreyfus, a French military officer who was Jewish, was convicted of treason against the French government. However, when people discovered that the conviction had been based on forged documents, it became clear that anti-Semitism was at the core of the accusations. The Dreyfus Affair inspired a worldwide outcry, especially after French novelist *Emile Zola* took up Dreyfus's cause. Dreyfus was ultimately pardoned after a time in prison, but the case illustrated just how widespread anti-Semitism was in France, one of the countries where Jews seemed least oppressed.

Zionists faced many obstacles. In particular, the land they wanted was controlled by the Ottoman Empire, and Palestinian Arabs were already living in the region. Both the Ottomans and the Palestinians were predominantly Muslim, which added a religious aspect to the conflict. However, the Zionist movement grew in strength until 1948, when the modern country of Israel was founded. (For more on the founding of Israel, see pages 502 and 577–578.)

**Nationalism Spreads** As nationalism spread beyond Europe, people often created an identity under one government where none had existed before. For example, in 1521, when Ferdinand Magellan claimed more than 7,000 islands off the southeast coast of Asia for Spain and named them the Philippines, no one called themselves “Filipino.” The people on these islands spoke different languages, had different cultures, and were ruled by different governments. However, by the late nineteenth century, Filipinos had a strong enough national identity to begin to demand independence from Spain.

And no country called “Liberia” existed in West Africa before 1821. Beginning in that year, freed slaves from the United States and from slave ships captured by the British began settling in the region. However, native Africans already lived

there. Over decades, people began to identify as Liberians, but the clash between the descendants of the native Africans and the descendants of slaves, has shaped Liberian politics ever since.

**The Future of Nationalism** While nationalism continues to shape how people view themselves and their political allegiances, some signs suggest that nationalism might be starting to decline. In Europe, many countries have agreed to use the same currency, to allow people to travel freely across borders, and to coordinate public policies. These changes might reflect a shift away from nationalism and toward a larger political grouping. Like city-states and empires, nations might someday give way to other forms of political organization.

### **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS THE ENLIGHTENMENT POSITIVE?**

Supporters of the Enlightenment were proud of its emphasis on reason. However, for others, relying on reason could be dangerous.

**Tradition vs. Reason** Edmund Burke, a British politician and political writer, was among those who challenged the wisdom of the Enlightenment's emphasis on reason. In light of the destructiveness of the French Revolution, Burke cast himself as the defender of tradition and opponent of rapid change. He doubted what he called the "conquering empire of light and reason" and defended instead the "latent wisdom" of ideas and practices that had developed slowly over generations. Burke feared that the emphasis on reason undermined long-practiced customs that held a community together. Throughout the nineteenth century, many romantics and nationalists picked up on Burke's perspective and argued for the wisdom of tradition over reason.

**Reason as Repression** One twentieth-century critic of the Enlightenment was the French scholar Michel Foucault. Writing in an age when everyone from Nazis to Communists claimed to be acting according to reason, he argued that the legacy of reason was a legacy of repression. For example, governments used reason to justify colonizing other lands and putting dissidents in prison.

**Defending Reason** However, the Enlightenment has always had strong defenders, particularly for its influence on government. Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah, in his work *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2007), credited the Enlightenment for producing ground-breaking ideas and documents, such as the 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Immanuel Kant's proposal for a "league of nations." Historian Jonathan Israel, in *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750–1790* (2011), as well as in other works, argued that the Enlightenment had profound positive effects on the modern world. Among these were the establishment of successful republican and democratic governments.

Historian and political scientist Anthony Pagden, in *The Enlightenment: And Why It Still Matters* (2013), praised the Enlightenment for preparing the world for a modern, global age. He credited the Enlightenment for clearing the intellectual arena of dogmatism and superstition and establishing, among other concepts, the basic understanding “that all human beings share the same basic rights and that women think and feel no differently than men or Africans from Asians.”

## KEY TERMS BY THEME

<p><b>ENVIRONMENT</b> Italian Peninsula immigration</p> <p><b>CULTURE</b> conservatism Deism romanticism nationalism Mary Wollstonecraft Voltaire salons Deists liberals Samuel Coleridge José Hernández</p> <p><b>SOCIAL STRUCTURE</b> First, Second, Third Estates bourgeoisie Tennis Court Oath Bastille Olympe de Gouges primogeniture Maroons creoles mestizos Peninsulares Zionism Emile Zola</p>	<p><b>STATE-BUILDING: POLITICAL WRITERS &amp; THOUGHT</b> Edmund Burke John Locke social contract Baron Montesquieu Jean-Jacques Rousseau Thomas Paine <i>The Age of Reason</i> Declaration of Independence United States Constitution separation of powers checks and balances Declaration of the Rights of Man Code Napoleon balance of power <i>philosophes</i> Theodor Herzl</p> <p><b>STATE-BUILDING: LEADERS</b> Napoleon Bonaparte King Louis XVI Maximilien Robespierre Tsar Alexander I Toussaint L'Ouverture Miguel Hidalgo Benito Juárez Archduke Maximilian</p>	<p>José de San Martín Simón Bolívar Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour Giuseppe Mazzini Giuseppe Garibaldi Otto von Bismarck</p> <p><b>STATE-BUILDING</b> levée en masse Congress of Vienna Klemens von Metternich Haiti conservatives La Reforma realpolitik Dreyfus Affair</p> <p><b>ECONOMICS</b> socialism physiocrats Adam Smith <i>The Wealth of Nations</i> laissez-faire utopian socialists Claude Henri de Saint-Simon Charles Fourier Robert Owen New Lanark New Harmony Louis Blanc Fabian Society classical liberalism</p>
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## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1.1 to 1.3 refer to the table below.

Revolution	One Major Cause	Two Major Results
<b>American Revolution</b>	Opposition to taxation without representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Established independence</li><li>• Created a written constitution</li></ul>
<b>French Revolution</b>	Opposition to the growing concentration of wealth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Overthrew monarchy</li><li>• Ended feudalism and serfdom</li></ul>
<b>Haitian Revolution</b>	Opposition to slavery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Led to end of slavery</li><li>• Redistributed land to free blacks and former slaves</li></ul>
<b>Mexican, Brazilian, and other Creole Revolutions</b>	Opposition to Spanish control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Established several independent countries</li><li>• Led to social conflicts</li></ul>

- 1.1** In which two revolutions was the growing power of the middle class a major cause of revolt?
- (A) Brazilian and American  
(B) French and American  
(C) Haitian and French  
(D) Haitian and Mexican
- 1.2** Which revolution most directly addressed the unequal distribution of economic opportunity and resources?
- (A) American  
(B) Haitian  
(C) Mexican  
(D) Brazilian
- 1.3** Which generalization applies to all the revolutions listed in the table?
- (A) All resulted in newly independent countries.  
(B) All advocated racial equality.  
(C) All were reversed within a generation of their completion.  
(D) All were inspired by Enlightenment ideals.

**Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the passage below.**

“We are not European; we are not Indian; we are but a mixed species of aborigines and Spaniards. Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict: we are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership, and at the same time we are struggling to maintain ourselves in the country that gave us birth against the opposition of the invaders.”

Simón Bolívar, speech to the Council of Angostura, 1819

**2.1** Bolívar’s intended audience was primarily

- (A) Peninsulares
- (B) the Spanish throne
- (C) mestizos and mulattoes
- (D) creoles

**2.2** Bolívar’s speech was intended to

- (A) build an alliance between colonists and indigenous people
- (B) unite creoles in the cause of independence from Spain
- (C) justify the need for land reform in Latin America
- (D) persuade Spanish colonists to resist an attack from Brazil

**2.3** One long-term impact of Bolívar’s actions was to

- (A) produce land reform in Latin America acceptable to all classes
- (B) unite Latin Americans to collectively oppose Catholic influence
- (C) encourage the spread of racial discrimination in Latin America
- (D) create the independent countries of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

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1. Answer parts A, B, and C.
  - A. Cite ONE specific example of how the Enlightenment characterized a dramatic shift in economic thought from the past.
  - B. Cite TWO specific example of how the Enlightenment characterized a dramatic shift in political thought from the past.

**Question 2 refers to the passage below.**

“I wish I knew what mighty things were fabricating. If a form of government is to be established here, what one will be assumed? Will it be left to our Assemblies to choose one? And will not many men have many minds? And shall we not run into dissensions among ourselves? I am more and more convinced that man is a dangerous creature; and that power, whether vested in many or a few, is ever grasping . . . How shall we be governed so as to retain our liberties? . . . Who shall frame these laws? Who will give them force and energy? . . . When I consider these things, and the prejudices of people in favor of ancient customs and regulations, I feel anxious for the fate of our monarchy or democracy, or whatever is to take place.”

Abigail Adams, writing to her husband John Adams,  
November 27, 1775

2. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Explain how the passage reflects the ONE philosophical debate in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries involving the Enlightenment, romanticism, or classical liberalism.
  - B. Select TWO of the following philosophes, and explain their likely reactions to this passage.
    - Voltaire
    - Baron Montesquieu
    - Thomas Hobbes
    - John Locke
    - Jean-Jacques Rousseau



**Questions 3.1 and 3.2 refer to the passage below.**

“National self-determination was revolutionary in its origins and implications; it was born from people’s desire for new kinds of commitment and cohesion. National identity was inherently subjective, a matter of constructed histories and shared emotions. It was clear enough who was a Prussian subject; what it meant to be a German was constantly debated and never finally settled.”

James Sheehan, “The Problem of Sovereignty in European History,”  
speech to the American Historical Association, 2006

**3.1** Which conflict is most closely related to the theme of the passage?

- (A) the English Civil War
- (B) the Time of Troubles in Russia
- (C) the French Revolution
- (D) the war for Italian unification

**3.2** The leader who most directly wrestled with the issue raised in the last sentence of passage was

- (A) Baron Montesquieu
- (B) Alfred Dreyfus
- (C) Otto von Bismarck
- (D) Archduke Maximilian

## THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USING PERIODIZATION

Periodization is a process by which historians divide the flow of history into meaningful periods. *Which TWO of the following statements contain periodization references?*

1. Growing out of the earlier intellectualism of the Scientific Revolution and the humanism of the Renaissance, the Age of Enlightenment was optimistic.
2. *Leviathan* was published by Thomas Hobbes in 1651. It was Hobbes who described life as “nasty, brutish, and short.”
3. In the eighteenth century, a new group of thinkers and writers who came to be called the *philosophes* explored social, political, and economic theories in new ways.
4. Voltaire was famous for his wit and his advocacy of civil liberties. One of his most famous works was a social satire, *Candide*.
5. The Declaration of Independence became the philosophy behind the Patriots’ fight against British troops in America.
6. Violence begets violence. It took the beheading of Robespierre to end the Reign of Terror.

*Which TWO of the following statements support the view that the French Revolution marked the end of one period and the start of another one?*

7. To understand the significance of the French Revolution, compare its slogan, “liberty, equality, fraternity,” with the values underlying European feudalism.
8. To understand the significance of the French Revolution, consider how successful the Congress of Vienna was in 1815, after the end of the Napoleonic wars.
9. To understand the significance of the French Revolution, think about it as part of a wider trend that included the American Revolution, the slave rebellion in Haiti, and the Creole revolutions.